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Equal Rights Before the Law for all Men--Social Conditions will Regulate Themselves.

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THE FREEDMEN.

ADDRESS OF GEN. HOWARD.

Speeches by Gen. Dockery and Judge Road.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, NOT A PERMANENCY.

On Thursday evening Gen. Howard addressed the delegates to the State Convention, and a large number of our citizens, including many ladies, on the subject of the Freedmen and the Bureau over which he presides. He was introduced to the audience by the Governor, and commenced by assuring his hearers that he entertained the kindest intentions towards the State, and was merely an agent in the hands of the President for the execution of his policy in respect to the Freedmen and their changed relations with their late owners. He stated that he was en route for South Carolina; but thinking that the country might result from interviews with the members of the State convention, he had halted in Raleigh, and expressed himself as greatly pleased at the opportunity afforded him of addressing them.

The report of the committee to which the address of the Freedmen's convention had been referred was handed to him, and he read it. He endorsed its policy coinciding with his views and approved the policy recommended in the report. He spoke of the action of the convention as important and expressed his confidence in the honesty and wisdom of its members, and their legislation in the matter. He thought that effective laws could not be passed at present because time is necessary to perfect such important matters. He referred to the course of Alabama and Mississippi, where arrangements had been made by which some of the justices in each county were authorized to settle differences between whites and blacks, and enforce law and order, and earnestly advocated the adoption of a similar method in North Carolina. He referred to the result of the work accomplished by his Bureau, and said that no one, white or black, is stated in vagrancy or idleness. One of the great objects had been to break up vagrancy and it had been nearly accomplished. In his present position he ought to advocate Equal Rights and did not intend to do so, but in his address he hoped to introduce a few practical suggestions and aid in the solution of the difficulties which now envelops the labors of the Freedmen. The Bureau was intended to last for a year, and is only an agency arranged to break the shock of the transition which is now going on in the social condition of the South. The change of the system of labor, and its social relations is great, and the Bureau was intended to assist in the change. It has no pecuniary resources, and consequently army officers are detailed as its agents, when it was originally intended that intelligent citizens should be employed. As soon as the States are able to take care of their own poor, the Bureau will cease to act, and the Freedmen will be turned over to their care. He recommended schools for all classes, and particularly for the Freedmen.

For the rest of the report we are indebted to the Standard of yesterday.

After a short pause the audience called on General Dockery. The call was repeated, when the delegate from Richmond arose and addressed them.

GEN. DOCKERY'S SPEECH.

He said that he was loth to address the assembly, when so many more able than himself were present, but as General Howard had called for facts and information, he would give him such as he had.

He came from the South Carolina line--from a county on the Pedee. He always had a kind feeling for the negroes. They had nursed him and had nursed his children. This kind attachment still existed. He was disposed, therefore, to do the negro justice. He believed that the State of North Carolina had been revolutionized by the war, and that the people would do them wrong.

But the negro did not rightfully comprehend his situation. He had many crude ideas of liberty. He thought liberty consisted in the privilege of roaming wherever he wished and cessation of labor. Vagrancy was a great misfortune. The negroes wandered off to the cities searching for a crowd. Some came back with marvellous tales, and rendered whose neighborhoods dissatisfied. Besides, the moral did not seem disposed to support their families. They would not work, and the women and children could not support themselves.

In conjunction with mean, demoralized white men, they had committed many depredations on stock and property, stealing cotton, killing hogs and sheep. In support of what he said, the General cited many instances of his own personal knowledge.

He said that now the prevailing question in the country was what to do with the negro. In old times it required all the energy of the master to make a living on the wornout lands of his country, and now that the negroes would not work, no living at all could be made. Were they to be driven away like the red men, or should they be allowed to dig in our yards from starvation? He did not believe that our people would allow them to starve, but they would not work, and what was to be done? In his county there were scarcely enough provisions to last through next spring, and he feared that these freedmen who had now become consumers and non-producers would suffer.

He said that in coming through Wilmington he had waited on Gen. Crook, and asked for the organization of a local police in his county. Since that time he had learned that a detachment of negro troops had been sent there. He deplored this. He thought the negroes would look upon them as protectors, and would soon commit some act to test whether they would be upheld in depredations on the whites. He had much rather preferred a home organization or a white guard.

After some other remarks by Mr. Dockery,

GENERAL HOWARD

arose, and said that what Gen. Dockery had said strengthened him in the belief of the necessity of local courts, such as he had referred to. That he had also received a new idea. If upon the old wornout lands of Gen. Dockery's county the negro could scarcely make a living when a slave, and now now that he was left to himself, what would be his fate if left to himself in a new country?

He would ask gentlemen if it were not a suicidal policy to remove the whole working population from a county? If labor could be regulated, would it not be better that it should be kept at home? He referred to some of the French Islands of the West Indies as an example where free negro labor was properly regulated.

IN REPLY

Gen. Dockery wished to know if negro children could be apprenticed, and to what extent.

GENERAL HOWARD

said that they could, to the same extent that white children were.

THIS ANSWER,

THE HON. E. G. READE

Was next called upon. He asked leave to assure General Howard that his kindly feelings were properly understood and appreciated. That he was from the northern border of the State, his friend General Dockery from the southern. He knew that under the old system, a cruel and a hard master was a rare thing in North Carolina. That there was an attachment between master and slave in North Carolina under the old system, which the war nor the ordinance passed by this Convention could dissolve. He believed, therefore, that in no district in North Carolina could a freedman be imposed upon. His former master would not allow it when appealed to, but would protect him. Such was his opinion.

He did not think himself a better master than others of his neighbors. He had owned but few slaves, some thirty or forty. Yet there were members of his family to whom, in the whole course of his life, he had never spoken a bad word. Therefore, he thought that were this matter left to the people of the State it would be justly and properly regulated. The intelligent people, and he begged leave to assure the General that our people were intelligent, would do it better than the Freedmen's Bureau, because they knew what was best. There were some difficulties with the negroes--some misunderstanding--but the people could regulate these things better than the agents of the Bureau.

GENERAL HOWARD

Wished to know if he thought that the agents had caused any of these difficulties.

JUDGE READE

Thought that they had. Their instructions to the negroes had been given, he doubted not, in good faith. But their instructions were to the negroes to go to work, and if their employers did not pay them, they would see that it was done. This fostered the belief that agents of the Bureau were better friends than their former masters, and made the negroes distrustful. Besides, white men had been brought from his county on the declaration of freedom, whether sworn or not he did not know, and put in jail here to be tried. This also created bad feeling.

In conclusion the Judge again reiterated his assurances to Gen. Howard that the Convention fully appreciated his good purposes.

General Howard made a few remarks, repeating succinctly what he had said, and impressing upon the minds of the members of the Convention the necessity for some action on the subject.

Next, this report was made up without notes entirely from memory. If any of the distinguished gentlemen have been misrepresented, or their meaning fully explained, it will be a pleasure to publish their speeches entire, or correct the error.

Report on Freedmen's Address.

Submitted to the Convention by Mr. Pool, Chairman of the Committee, on the 11th instant.

The Committee, to which was referred the Address of the Freedmen's Convention, asks leave to submit the following report:

The subject matter of the Address and petition could be more appropriately acted on by the Legislature, than by this Convention. But the importance of the subject, and the necessity for careful and considerate action are so great that it may be proper for the Convention to take some initiatory steps towards its adjustment.

The former relations of master and slave having ceased in North Carolina, new and mutual rights and duties have supervened, which require corresponding legislation. A large class of the population, ignorant and poor, has been released from the stringent restraints of its late social and political position, and from its dependence upon the individual obligations of another class for its support, government and protection. And it now becomes the duty of the State to assume control of this change of relations, and to enact such laws as right and justice may require, and as may be most conducive to the general welfare. The abolition of slavery has been adopted in good faith, and with the full determination that it shall not again exist in the State, either in form or substance. But the consequences of its former existence will inevitably effect the state of society for years to come. In consequence of his late condition as a slave, the freedmen is ignorant of the operations of civil government, improvident of public opinion, and without any real appreciation of the duties and obligations imposed by the change in his relations to society. It is the interest of the white race, if he is to reside among us, to improve and elevate him by the enactment of such laws, conceived in a spirit of fairness and liberality, as will encourage him to seek his true welfare in honest industry, and the faithful discharge of the duties of life. His intellectual and social condition must depend upon his industry and virtue.

Prejudices of a social character will probably exist forever. They are not confined to this State, nor to those States or countries where the institution of African slavery has been recognized; but have pervaded every society where the two races have been brought in contact. However unjust such prejudices may be deemed in theory, wisdom and prudence require that they should be so far recognized and respected by legislators, as to avoid rash attempts at measures that might serve only to inflame and strengthen them. Although we cannot hope for the entire correction of many of the evils under which we now labor, yet time will materially modify them, and much may be safely trusted to its silent but effective operation. Hasty and inconsiderate action should be avoided; and above all things, should the delicate questions evolved from the new relations among

us be kept from the arena of party politics. There are, at present, in North Carolina, some real bonds of attachment between the two races. Families have been brought up and nurtured together under our former domestic relations, faithful servants have gained the esteem and confidence of their former masters, and possess and reciprocate tender feelings of affection from those whose infancy they have watched, and in the pleasures and sports of whose childhood they have participated. Their services and sympathies in afflictions are remembered, and the dearest memories of the dead are associated and shared with them. From such ties, and from the common feelings of interest, justice and humanity, more is to be hoped for the improvement and welfare of the colored race, than from the agitation of impracticable claims for social and political rights, or from the aid of those whose interference is likely to be regarded with jealousy and met with resentment. We deplore the premature introduction of any schemes that may disturb the operation of these kindly feelings, or inflame the inherent social prejudice that exists against the colored race. The necessary legislation should be conceived in a spirit of fairness and justice, and in full and unreserved conformity to existing relations. But it should be suited to the actual condition of the parties--and be aimed rather to their material and moral welfare, and to the general peace and prosperity of the State, than to any theoretical schemes of social and political equality.

Those of our laws that are inapplicable to the changed relation of master and slave, and those that are in contravention to it, should be repealed; and many new laws are now indispensably necessary to meet the present condition of things. These laws should be drawn with great care, and with the most mature consideration.

The committee, therefore, recommends that the Provisional Governor of the State be requested to appoint and constitute a commission of three gentlemen, eminent for legal ability, to prepare and submit to the consideration of the Legislature, at its next session, a system of laws upon the subject of freedmen, and to designate such laws or parts of laws, now in force, as should be repealed in order to conform to the statutes of the State to the ordinance of this Convention abolishing the institution of slavery.

JOHN POOL,
Chairman for the Committee.

We are Going Home.

We have seen nothing more clearly indicating the pleasure with which some of the Southern people return to the Union than the short address of Mr. Reade, President of the North Carolina Convention, delivered on taking his seat to preside over that body. In the course of his remarks he uses the following language:

"Fellow-citizens, we are going home. Let painful reflections upon our late separation, and pleasant memories of our early union, quicken our footsteps toward the old mansion, that we may grasp again the hand of Friendship which stands at the door; and, sheltered by a rock and has weathered the storm, enjoy together the long, bright future which awaits us."

This is uttered in the true spirit of brotherhood. It shows that the influence of early education has not been utterly destroyed by rebellion, but that there are those whose memories go back to earlier days, and who rejoice in the prospect of again claiming their rights of citizenship beneath the folds of the banner for which their fathers fought.

"We are going home," says Mr. Reade. To an American citizen such an expression is full of meaning. It conveys an idea of all that is most cherished--of rest, of peace, of happiness. The word "home" symbolizes all these. It is the place we retire to when the struggles of the day are over, to find sympathy and love. That any one should use such an expression in regard to a re-establishment of political relations, shows how much bitterness and sorrow was entailed by separation, and how powerful are the emotions with which those who were unwillingly forced out of the Union are agitated at the prospect of claiming their old position in their own old country.

It is, indeed, like an exile returning to the country of his birth and his affections. Those who were forced by circumstances to submit to the domination of the rebellion were indeed in worse than a foreign country, for they had not the privilege of being strangers. They were compelled in many cases to become citizens of a foreign power and to take up arms for it. To such men it will indeed be a pleasure to unite with Mr. Reade in cherishing "pleasant memories of our early union," so as to "quicken their footsteps toward the old mansion."

It was a great and glorious mansion when they were in it, but it had a domestic institution which marred its econ-

omy and poisoned its peace. The family quarrel over this institution, and have now made up their minds to dispense with it. Let us hope that, the bone of contention being removed, the Union of the future will be more harmonious than the Union of the past, so that all entitled to the protection of its laws may find it to be a home indeed.

In coming home the South is a great gainer. She gains in character and influence, in political power, and in all that contribute towards national greatness. Our resources are added to her own. The citizens of the South, who would have hampered themselves by political dogmas, which would have destroyed their political importance, and made them tributary to some powerful ally, are being restored to their old status as citizens of the United States of America, whose power has been demonstrated in crushing the rebellion, and as such citizens the world will accord to them, as to us, the position to which the manifestations of this power has elevated our Government. They will share with us in the additional lustre which has been shed upon our arms. The very bravery their misguided leaders displayed in the contest, as does that of our military chieftains, to the advantage of the whole country, as regards its military reputation. The world, which has gazed in wonder at the mighty armies and unparalleled energy of the conflict, which has seen hundreds of thousands of men marshalled in battle, and contend days and weeks together with doubtful advantage on either side and courage and endurance on both, cannot fail to respect a power which combines them both. When the day comes that calls our Southern friends to arms under the Old Flag, side by side with our own brave wearers of the blue, we are assured that all those who feel like Mr. Reade that they are coming "home" will help to add new lustre to the arms of their and our country.---Baltimore American.

GEN. SWAIN'S ORDER.

Gen. Swain, of the Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama, has given orders that all contracts with the freedmen for labor must be reduced to writing, and approved by the agent of the bureau for plantation labor. Employers must stipulate to provide sufficient food, quarters and medical attendance for the laborers, and such further compensation as may be agreed upon. Such contracts will be a lien upon the crops raised upon plantations, of which not more than one-half shall be removed until full payment to the laborers is made, and the contract cancelled by the agent of the Bureau for plantation labor. Absentees from labor, without good cause, will be proceeded against as vagrants, and may be set to work on the public roads, or to do other labor, or turned over to the Freedmen's Bureau.

Gov. Parsons and Gen. Wood have approved of the order, and directed its enforcement.

A curious case of miscegenation has recently occurred in South Carolina. Capt. E. J. Scranton, 128th colored troops, stationed at Beaufort, has been tried, convicted and sentenced by court martial to be dismissed the service, for cohabiting with in camp, and afterward marrying, a colored woman of bad reputation. The sentence has been approved by Gen. Gilmore, commanding the Department, in a general order. That is queer; what is the fellow punished for--what he did before marriage, or the marriage itself?---Newburyport Herald.

GEN. GRANT ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

Gen. Grant, both from his position as head of the army and from the prestige he has won, is likely to become as important to our Government for the remainder of his life as the Duke of Wellington in the latter part of his public career. His views, therefore, will always be of interest. In this connection we give the following from the Chicago Tribune:

"General Grant, in conversation with his friends, says that it is too soon to declare that the loyal blacks in the South shall not be allowed to vote. Aside from the abstract right and the legal problem of what authority can confer or withhold the franchise--whether it be Congress or the State--the question may assume the shape of a political necessity. The Government and the people may choose between keeping a standing army of 100,000 men at an expense of \$160,000,000 a year to the taxpayers, to support the white minority in the South against the white rebel majority, or of enfranchising the blacks, and thereby enabling them to support the white loyalists. Gen. Grant foresees that the suffrage question may take this form."

The gross receipts towards the erection of the Lincoln Monument are \$53,000. A design for the monument has been submitted to the Association by J. Larkins Mead, the well known Vermont sculptor, but no action has been taken upon it.

The question of freeing the slaves in Cuba is creating considerable discussion, not only among the people of the Island, but in Spain also.

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

THE EARNEST USE OF LIFE.--Let us think how little we use life thoroughly, how little we really live our life, how seldom we are in the humor to carry out life's great and solemn purposes, how we let its opportunities fly by us, like thistle-down on the wind. Why are we not always denying ourselves, taking up the cross and following Christ? Why are we not always on the watch for every occasion in which a word may be said, or a deed done, or a thought thought, that shall be a protest for Christ, in this vain and sinful world? Why is God's love but a rare wintry gleam, and never a steady summer in our soul? Think, for instance, of such a thing as prayer: what a wonderful and beautiful thing it is! To kneel, an atom in creation, at the throne of the Almighty; to be able to bare our hearts to him, and to feel sure that the least throb, as well as the great spasm, is perfectly appreciated, felt, understood, sympathized with, by that awful, yet loving Being!

And yet how wintry our hearts are in our prayers! how seldom they burst into cheerful praises! how constantly the sky above us seems pale and heavy; and cold and impenetrable, and our hearts beneath abiding in their winter sleep! Or if a snowdrift here and there wanders out, and now and then a pinched primrose, there are not flowers enough to fashion into even the poorest garland.

The world is too much with us, in a word soon: Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

ERROR, FAITH AND EXPERIENCE.--It cannot be necessary for us in the present day to stand and say that a man is not saved by the form of what he believes. It is more important for us to assert that neither is a man saved by what he disbelieves. When you have unmade the intellectual foundation of a hundred creeds, you have made no church for yourself. When your newer or nicer logic has overturned the fallacies of no matter what councils or canon, you have yet not given man a guide for faith or an example for life. If you try to do this, you will find that the ground of religious experience lies beyond the short-comings of other men and your own. No fault of yours need deprive you of the comfort of recognizing an eternal standard of perfection which is always present for your study and endeavor; and no fact of theirs absolves you from the necessity of measuring your own thoughts and efforts by that standard. He who is religious believes in the efficiency of faith. He knows error to be as inevitable to himself as to others. But he knows that the results of faith are so much greater than the hindrances of error, that he seeks, in the culture of the one, the true and only remedy against the incursions of the other.---Christian Examiner for July.

The North British Review says: "The pressing need of our faith is not simply faithful evangelists to proclaim its doctrines, but legions of men consecrating their worldly vocations, witnessing to that truth on which such skepticism prevails, that Christianity, so received as to become an integral part of a man, is omnipotent to keep him from the evil, not by taking him out of the world, but by making him victorious over it. He is a most worthy disciple of Christ who, like Palissy, or Buxton, or Buget, or Perthes, exhibits religion as 'the right use of a man's whole self'--as the one thing which gives dignity and nobility to what is in itself sordid and earthy--as the mainspring of earnest and successful strivings after, loftier ends and purer life--as the power, outside of and within man, which, lifting up conduct in the individuals, raise the community--and act as a state of mind mystical, and in active life unattainable, high up among things intangible, separately from contact with work-a-day life, appropriate to Sabbath days and special hours, to leisure, old age and death beds. Every man who is 'diligent in business, serving the Lord,' is a sermon brimful of the energies of life and truth, a witness to the comprehensiveness and adaptability of Christ's religion, a preacher of righteousness in scenes where none can preach so effectively or so well."

THRASHING MACHINE.--"At Beirut," says one who has traveled in Syria and Palestine, "I sought out a mechanic's shop, in order to see a threshing instrument, described to me as used generally in that part of Syria, and as similar to that of the ancient inhabitants. The frame was composed of thick pieces of plank, turned up in front like our stone-sledge, and perforated with holes underneath for holding the teeth. The teeth consisted of sharp basaltic rock, about three inches long and hardly less firm than iron itself. This machine is drawn over the grain by horses or oxen, and serves, together with the tramping of the feet of the animals, to beat out the kernels and out up the straw, preparatory to winnowing. It is in an instrument of this description that the prophet alludes, when he says: 'Behold, I will make thee, (that is, the Jewish nation,) as a new, sharp threshing instrument, having teeth:'

---thou shalt thresh the mountains and beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff." (Isaiah 41-45.) The teeth were sometimes made of iron, as appears from Amos 1-3."

A SERMON TO A PREACHER.--Never shall I forget the remark of a learned legal friend, who was at one time somewhat skeptical in his views. Said he to me: "Did I believe as you do, that the masses of our race are perishing in sin, I could have no rest. I would fly to tell them of salvation. I would labor day and night. I would speak with all the energy and pathos I could summon. I would warn and entreat my fellow-men to turn unto Christ, and receive salvation at his hands. I am astonished at the manner in which the majority of your ministers tell your message. Why, you do not act as if you believed your own words. You have not the earnestness in preaching that we lawyers have in pleading. If we were as tame as you are, we would not carry a single suit."

A decade of years has passed away since that remark was made. I bless God it was addressed to me. It put a fire in my bones which I hope will burn as long as I live. God preached a stirring sermon to me that day by the mouth of that infidel lawyer.---Rev. P. Stryker, of New Brunswick.

CHARITABLE JUDGMENT.--The following words from a sermon of Laurin deserves to be committed to memory as a guide to a just and charitable judgment of the character of others:

In order to judge properly of a crime and a criminal, we must examine the power of the temptations to which he was exposed; the opportunities given him to avoid it; the force of his natural constitution; the motives which animated him; the resistance he made; the virtues he practiced; the talents God gave him; the education he had, what knowledge he had acquired; what remorse he felt. It must be examined whether he were seduced by ignorance; whether he were allured by example; whether he yielded through weakness; whether disposition or obstinacy, malice or contempt of God of His law, confirmed him in sin.

THE LORD JESUS THE "HUB."--The following, in homely words, presents a true and happy metaphor:

A negro preacher then holding forth to the colored soldiers then stationed at Port Hudson, said: "De whole ob God's relation to us am like de wheel. De Lord Jesus Christ am de hub, de Christians am de spokes, and de tire am de grace ob God a binden me all together; and de nearer we get to de hub, de nearer we get to each other."

"Are you still in the land of the living," enquired a man of an aged friend. "No, but I am going there." This world is the shadow--heaven is the reality.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THE DEMOCRACY.--A distinguished gentleman in conversation with the President, a few days ago, remarked to him: "I perceive, Mr. Johnson, that the Copperhead Democracy are making great efforts to capture our President--to withdraw him from the party which nominated and elected him, and to put him into the keeping of the party which slandered and vilified him before election, and which plotted his assassination afterward, and I should like to know their chances of success." The President replied: "I think I know them too well to be in danger of capture by them, and I supposed they know me well enough not to make the attempt."---Boston Journal.

A negro woman, who was baptized a few Sundays ago, at Huntsville, Ala., came forth from the water shouting: "Freed from slavery, freed from sin, bless God and Gen. Grant!"

A Kentucky newspaper actually admits that the negro troops are "polite and gentlemanly, and bear the mark of true Kentucky breeding." This is doubly suggestive; first, as an opinion about the negro character, and second, as a compliment to their ancestry.

An old negro man who attends to Judge Bryan's office accidentally found "his long-lost brother" a few days ago. They were sold in Virginia when about ten years old, and separated. They are now upwards of sixty years of age; and made the discovery that they were brothers while in conversation about the changes worked by the war. The last seen of the old darkeys they were going down Cherry street, arm in arm, full of glory.---Nashville Dispatch.

It has been ascertained by the Freedmen's Bureau, that parties from that city have recently been engaged in enticing freedmen bound to the newly discovered vessel bound to the Russian coast, where they were placed in close confinement, and carried off against their will. The affair is undergoing an investigation.

The planters on the eastern shore of Maryland are sending to the Freedmen's Bureau at Washington for free negro laborers.